

Message Text

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12/43

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-11 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

DRC-01 /153 W

----- 100117

P R 201711Z SEP 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0417

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0245

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: NAC GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP -- LINKAGE
BETWEEN PHASES

REF: A) STATE 196469 (PARA 2); B) STATE 96911 (PARA 3);

C) USNATO 5026; D) USNATO 3791

1. AS WASHINGTON AGENCIES ARE AWARE, THE AD HOC GROUP PLANS
WHEN THE INFORMAL SESSIONS WITH THE EAST ARE RESUMED TO RETURN
IMMEDIATELY TO THE EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF WHOSE
FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. THE FIRST MEETING
WITH THE EAST WILL PROBABLY TAKE PLACE ON SEPTEMBER 26. IT IS
PROBABLE THAT ONLY TWO SESSIONS WILL BE DEVOTED TO THIS SUBJECT

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AND THAT THE SECOND AND FINAL ONE OF THESE WILL TAKE PLACE

ON OCTOBER 2. IN DISCUSSING THIS TOPIC, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS NEED TO BE IN A POSITION EITHER TO ANSWER EASTERN QUESTIONS ON DETAILS OF THEIR PREVIOUS PROPOSALS OR TO FILL OUT THEIR PRESENTATION ON THE SUBJECT PRIOR TO PASSING ON TO THE TOPIC OF DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AS IS INTENDED.

2. IN PARA 3 OF PART II OF THE AD HOC GROUP REPORT OF JULY 23 (TEXT IN MBFR VIENNA 0199), THE AD HOC GROUP ASKED FOR GUIDANCE FROM NATO ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

BEGIN TEXT:

APPROXIMATELY HOW LONG WILL THE "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME" NEED TO BE? SHOULD IT BE MEASURED FROM THE DATE ON WHICH A PHASE I AGREEMENT IS SIGNED, OR FROM THE DATE ON WHICH THE AGREEMENT ENTERS INTO FORCE?

CAN THE EAST BE TOLD THAT THE DURATION OF THE "NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT" WILL BE CO-TERMINOUS WITH THE REVIEW PERIOD FOR WHICH PROVISION WILL BE MADE IN A PHASE I AGREEMENT?

IN THE CONTEXT OF DISCUSSION OF THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS COMMITMENT," WHAT CAN BE SAID IN RESPONSE TO EASTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS?

END TEXT.

3. THE LAST QUESTION, PARTICIPATION OF THE US AND USSR IN PHASE II, RAISES A POLICY ISSUE. THERE IS NO OFFICIAL US POSITION AS YET AND THE ALLIES WILL PROBABLY WISH TO DISCUSS THIS TOPIC AT NATO WHEN ONE IS AVAILABLE. WE BELIEVE WE ARE IN A POSITION IN VIENNA TO HANDLE THE ISSUE ON AN INTERIM BASIS AND TO POSTPONE FORMAL RESPONSE TO POSSIBLE EASTERN ENQUIRIES. MOREOVER, AT A TIME WHEN WE ARE TRYING TO GAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO OUR CONCEPT OF PHASING, WE DO NOT WISH TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO TELL THE SOVIETS THAT WE WILL INSIST ON FURTHER SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II. CONSEQUENTLY, GUIDANCE ON THIS QUESTION IS NOT REQUIRED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HOWEVER, AS THE TACTICAL TIMETABLE

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ABOVE INDICATES, GUIDANCE ON THE FIRST TWO QUESTIONS IS NEEDED BY OCTOBER 4 AT THE LATEST.

4. WE NOTE FROM REF (A) THAT WASHINGTON AGENCIES HAVE PROVIDED PROPOSALS WITH REGARD TO THE DURATION OF THE FIXED PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN PHASES OF NEGOTIATION AND THE EVENT FROM WHICH IT IS MEASURED, SUGGESTING THAT IT BE SET AT 18 MONTHS FOLLOWING SIGNATURE IF DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST BECOMES SPECIFIC. WE ALSO

NOTE THAT WASHINGTON AGENCIES HAVE AGAIN PROPOSED A 5-YEAR DURATION FOR THE NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT.

5. WE DO NOT SEE IN THE RECORD OF SPC DISCUSSIONS THUS FAR OR IN THE CURRENT WASHINGTON GUIDANCE (REF A) TREATMENT OF THE SECOND QUESTION ASKED BY THE AD HOC GROUP IN THIS CONTEXT, WHETHER THE EAST COULD BE TOLD THAT THE DURATION OF THE NO-INCREASE WOULD BE THE SAME AS THAT OF THE REVIEW PERIOD. GUIDANCE ON THIS QUESTION IS NEEDED.

6. WE NOTE THAT IT WAS THE ORIGINAL POSITION OF WASHINGTON AGENCIES (PARAS C AND E OF STATE 96911) THAT THE PERIOD SHOULD BE THE SAME, AND BE SET AT FIVE YEARS, AND THAT THE UK NOW AGREES (USNATO 3791). IT WOULD SEEM TO US TO BE A MATTER OF LOGIC THAT THE DURATION OF THE NO-INCREASE PROVISION, AND OF THE PERIOD WHICH MUST EXPIRE BEFORE REVIEW AND POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL CAN TAKE PLACE, SHOULD BE THE SAME. IF THE WESTERN ALLIES ARE TO BE FREE TO INCREASE THEIR FORCES AFTER FIVE YEARS IN THE EVENT OF UNSUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION ON A PHASE II AGREEMENT, IT IS ONLY FAIR THAT THE EAST SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT AT THE SAME TIME TO DRAW THE SAME CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF THE PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS AND TO ACT ON THEM TOO. A MAJOR SOVIET INTEREST IN ENTERING THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS HAS BEEN TO PLACE A LIMIT ON EXPANSION OF THE BUNDESWEHR. IF THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN WILLING TO AGREE TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN PHASE I IN THE EXPECTATION THAT THE FRG WOULD ALSO DO SO IN PHASE II, AND THIS EXPECTATION DOES NOT MATERIALIZE IN THE PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE PERIOD OF LIMITATION ON WESTERN EUROPEAN FORCES EXPIRES, PERMITTING THEM TO INCREASE, THE SOVIETS SHOULD IN EQUITY RECEIVE THE RIGHT TO REACT AT THE SAME TIME. A SHORTER PERIOD FOR INVOLVING THE REVIEW PROCEDURE WOULD NOT BE IN THE WESTERN INTERESTS BECAUSE THE EAST WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO INFLUENCE THE NEGOTIATIONS BY THREATS TO INVOKE THE REVIEW PROCEDURE AT A TIME WHEN THE NATO ALLIES

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CONTINUED BOUND BY THE NO-INCREASE PROVISION. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PERIOD WHICH WOULD HAVE TO EXPIRE BEFORE INVOLVING THE REVIEW PROVISION COULD NOT IN PRACTICAL TERMS BE LONGER THAN THAT OF THE NO-INCREASE PROVISION. FROM THE NEGOTIATING VIEWPOINT, THE SOVIET UNION IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY TO ACCEPT A SITUATION WHERE IT WOULD CONTINUE TO BE BOUND BY A COMMITMENT NOT TO INCREASE ITS FORCES IN THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN REDUCTION AREA WHILE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE FRG, HAD REGAINED THE FREEDOM TO DO SO.

7. WE REQUEST THAT WASHINGTON AGENCIES PROVIDE USNATO WITH NEW INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PERIOD OF BOTH PROVISIONS BE CO-TERMINOUS AND BE SET AT FIVE YEARS AND THAT USNATO BE AUTHORIZED TO URGE THE ALLIES TO TAKE PROMPT ACTION ON THE ISSUES DESCRIBED ABOVE AND TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE ON THEM TO THE AD HOC GROUP BY SEPTEMBER 30.

RESOR

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NEGOTIATIONS, MILITARY AGREEMENTS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, EAST WEST MEETINGS, COMMITTEES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 SEP 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MBFRV00245
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740265-1133
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740928/aaaaaxy.tel
Line Count: 170
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A) STATE 196469 (PARA 2); B) STATE 9, 6911 (PARA 3);
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 MAR 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <21 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: NAC GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP -- LINKAGE BETWEEN PHASES
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005